

Message Text

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SUBJECT: RIDER SURVEY ON JAPAN-ROK RELATIONS -- II. INITIAL ANALYSIS

REF: TOKYO 18967

1. RECIPIENTS OF THE REFTEL REPORT ON THE FINDINGS OF THE
SUBJECT POLL SHOULD NOTE THAT DURING THE PERIOD OF THE FIELD
INTERVIEWING THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE JAPANESE MEDIA COVERAGE OF
THE KCIA-IN-WASHINGTON STORY AND SPECULATION TQT THE STORY WAS
BEING DELIBERATELY PLAYED UP BY THE U.S. SIDE TO BOLSTER
AMERICA'S RATIONALE FOR REDUCING ITS FORCES IN THE ROK. ALERT
MEDIA READERS AMONG THE SURVEY RESPONDENTS COULD WELL HAVE BEEN
INFLUENCED IN SOME OF THEIR ANSWERS BY THAT TREATMENT AND
SPECULATION.

2. IN POLLS OF THIS SORT ON FOREIGN POLICY QUESTIONS, RATHER
HIGH "DON'T KNOW" RATES ARE OBTAINED, ESPECIALLY FROM WOMEN, THE
LESS EDUCATED, AND PERSONS IN RURAL AREAS OR IN PRIMARY INDUSTRIES.
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THE PERCENTAGES FOR ALL RESPONDENTS ARE PROBABLY NEARLY REPRESENTATIVE OF THE VIEWS OF THE ENTIRE POPULATION, BUT UNDER-REPRESENT THE MORE INFORMED, POLITICALLY SOPHISTICATED SEGMENTS OF THE POPULATION WHICH ARE IMPORTANT TO POLICYMAKERS OF THE GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED. THE COMMENTS BELOW, THEREFORE, INDICATE THOSE CASES WHERE SUCH SUBGROUP'S VIEWS DIFFER SIGNIFICANTLY FROM

THE VIEWS OF ALL INTERVIEWEES.

3. FOR QUESTION 1, NO MORE THAN NINE PERCENT OF ANY SUBGROUP LISTED THE SITUATION ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA AS A MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE. OVER 60 PERCENT OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE, RESIDENTS OF THE BIG CITIES, BLUE COLLAR WORKERS AND HOUSEWIVES NAMED THE LOCKHEED CASE AS A MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE. JAPAN-SOVIET RELATIONS WERE MOST IMPORTANT TO 35 PERCENT IN TOKYO. THE NEGOTIATIONS ON NORTH PACIFIC FISHERIES WERE NAMED BY 31 PERCENT OF THE COLLEGE EDUCATED.

4. FOR QUESTION 2 THE VIEW THAT JAPANESE AND DPRK NATIONAL INTERESTS DIFFER WAS ESPECIALLY STRONG (64 PERCENT "RATHER" AND "VERY" DIFFERENT) AMONG MEN OF ALL AGES UP TO 60, AND AMONG THOSE IN COMMERCE, INDUSTRY AND THE PROFESSIONS. THE VIEW THAT JAPAN-ROK INTERESTS COINCIDE WAS EXPRESSED BY NEARLY 40 PERCENT OF THE COLLEGE EDUCATED AND BY 52 PERCENT OF THOSE IN COMMERCE, INDUSTRY

AND THE PROFESSIONS.

5. IN QUESTION 3, ALMOST TWO-THIRDS OF THE COLLEGE EDUCATED DESCRIBED JAPAN-DPRK RELATIONS AS RATHER OR VERY BAD, WHILE THE SAME SUBGROUP SPLIT ALMOST EQUALLY BETWEEN CALLING JAPAN-ROK RELATIONS GOOD (41) OR BAD (44).

6. WITH QUESTION 4, OVER 60 PERCENT OF THE COLLEGE EDUCATED FAVORED CLOSER RELATIONS WITH BOTH THE DPRK AND THE ROK. ABOUT THREE-FOURTHS OF THE MEN IN THE 50-59 AGE GROUP FAVORED CLOSER JAPAN-ROK RELATIONS. OPPOSITION TO CLOSER RELATIONS WITH SEOUL WAS HIGHER THAN IN THE TOTAL SAMPLE AMONG BLUE COLLAR WORKERS, MEN AGED 20-29 AND THE COLLEGE EDUCATED. THE COLLEGE EDUCATED, UNCLASSIFIED

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NEVERTHELESS, CAME OUT THREE TO ONE FOR CLOSER RELATIONS WITH SEOUL.

7. IN QUESTION 5, OLDER MEN MOST FREQUENTLY (38 PERCENT) NAMED COMMON JAPAN-KOREA CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL TIES AS FACTOR MAKING THE ROK IMPORTANT TO JAPAN. THE COLLEGE EDUCATED AND OLDER MEN ALSO FREQUENTLY CITED KOREA'S POSITION AS A BUFFER BETWEEN JAPAN AND ASIAN COMMUNIST STATES.

8. IN QUESTION 6 ON OBSTACLES TO BETTER JAPAN-ROK RELATIONS, ABOUT ONE THIRD OF THE BETTER INFORMED SUBGROUPS NAMED THE JAPANESE TENDENCY TO FEEL SUPERIOR TO KOREANS AS AN OBSTACLE. ONLY THOSE GIVING THEIR POLITICAL AFFILIATION AS CONSERVATIVE TENDED TO BE WELL ABOVE THE WHOLE GROUP (25 PERCENT) IN SEEING THE NATIONAL CHARACTERS OF JAPAN AND KOREA AS INCOMPATIBLE, WHILE THE "UNRELIABILITY OF KOREANS" WAS CITED MOST OFTEN (17 PERCENT) BY PERSONS OVER 60. THE GENERAL IMPLICATION OF THE FINDINGS IS

THAT FIXED IDEAS AND STEREOTYPES ARE FADING OUT AND THAT CONCRETE, REAL WORLD PROBLEMS ARE SEEN BY MORE JAPANESE AS HINDRANCES TO IMPROVING THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP.

9. IN QUESTION 7, WHERE THE TOTAL GROUP SPLIT ABOUT EVENLY ON WHEYV THE PRESENCE OF U.S. TROOPS IS IMPORTANT TO PEACE IN KOREA, THE COLLEGE EDUCATED CAME OUT THREE TO TWO (47 TO 30 PERCENT) FOR THE GROOPS BEING IMPORTANT. BUT, THE COLLEGE GROUP SPLIT ALMOST EVENLY (42 TO 38) ON WHETHER THE SAME TROOPS ARE IMPORTANT FOR JAPAN'S SECURITY.

10. ON QUESTION 8, THE VIEW WH U.S. TROOPS IN KOREA SHOULD BE KEPT AT THEIR PRESENT STRENGTH WAS HELD MORE OFTEN BY OLDER MEN (LOW 40 PERCENT RANGE) AND BY PEOPLE IN COMMERCE, INDUSTRY AND THE PROFESSIONS. IT WAS NEXT STRONGEST (37 PERCENT) WITH THE COLLEGE EDUCATED AND PERSONS WHO SUPPORT THE LDP. THE SUBQUESTION (7-B) FOUND CLEAR MAJORITIES IN FAVOR OF KEEPING THE PRESENT FORCE LEVEL AMONG THOSE PEOPLE WHO REGARD THOSE FORCES TO BE IMPORTANT TO UNCLASSIFIED

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JAPAN'S SECURITY. THE HIGH VOTE FOR REMOVING THE U.S. TROOPS WAS FOUND, LOGICALLY, AMONG THOSE DENYING THE IMPORTANCE OF THEIR PRESENCE TO JAPAN'S SECURITY.

11. IN QUESTION 9, THE MORE POLITICALLY AWARE SUBGROUPS TENDED TO EXPRESS HIGHER CONFIDENCE IN AMERICA ACTING IN THE ROK'S DEFENSE, BUT MEN AGED 20-29 WERE THE LEAST CONFIDENT OF SUCH A U.S. STAND.

12. IN QUESTION 10, DEALING WITH APPROVAL OR DISAPPROVAL ON USING U.S. BASES IN JAPAN TO SUPPORT THE ROK IN CASE OF A NORTH KOREAN ATTACK, A HEAVY PREPONDERANCE WAS OPPOSED TO SUCH USE. BUT, THE DEGREE OF OPPOSITION WAS NOT SO HIGH AS IN THE 1975 POLL:

1976 1975

OPPOSE, NOT TOO STRONGLY 15 5.7

OPPOSE FAIRLY STRONGLY 25 21

OPPOSE VERY STRONGLY 21 34

THE REASONSHARE NOT PROBED IN THE SURVEY; BUT THE CROSS-TABULATION WITH QUESTION 7-B SHOWED THE STRONGEST OPPOSITION BEING EXPRESSED BY THOSE WHO SEE THE LEAST CONNECTION BETWEEN JAPAN'S SECURITY AND THE U.S. TROOP PRESENCE IN KOREA. ALSO, THE PRECEDING QUESTIONS THIS TIME, REQUIRING RESPONDENTS TO THINK MORE ABOUT JAPAN-KOREAN RELATIONS, COULD HAVE LED THEM TO STATE LESS STRONG OPPOSITION THAN IN 1975.

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